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ABSTRACT

Identical instruments and procedures were used to collect data on military orientations from 98 Black boys who attended predominantly Black high schools in nonmetropolitan East Texas and 111 Blacks attending an all-Black high school in Houston, Texas, during the spring, 1966. The hypotheses tested were (1) that nonmetropolitan Black boys have more positive orientations towards military service than metropolitan Blacks and (2) that lower-class metropolitan boys with high occupational aspirations have more positive orientations than other metropolitan youth. The hypotheses were evaluated using data from Black high school sophomores. The specific orientations examined are desire to enter the military, anticipation of military service, certainty of this expectation, and general attitude towards participating in the military. The findings indicated that all of the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan boys were favorably inclined towards military service, and lower-class Black yough with high aspirations were not more favorably inclined toward participation in the military than other Black youth. Relevant inferences are drawn and suggestions offered for future study. A related document is ED 040 774. (Author/HBC)

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SOUTHERN BLACK YOUTHS' PERCEPTIONS OF MILITARY SERVICE: A NONMETROPOLITAN-METROPOLITAN COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES, ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS.*[1]

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ABSTRACT

Identical instruments and procedures were used to collect data on military orientations from 98 Black boys who attended predominantly Black high schools in nonmetropolitan East Texas and 111 Blacks attending an all-Black high school in Houston, Texas during the spring,1966. The following hypotheses served to guide the analysis reported on this data: (1) nonmetropolitan Black boys have more positive orientations towards military service than metropolitan Blacks; (2) lower-class metropolitan boys with high occupational aspirations have more positive orientations than other metropolitan youth. These hypotheses were evaluated using data from Black high school sophomores. The specific orientations examined are desire to enter the military, anticipation of military service, certainty of this expectation, and general attitude towards participating in the military.

The findings failed to support the hypotheses. In general, all of the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan boys were favorably inclined towards military service,and lower-class Black youth with high aspirations were not more favorably inclined toward participation in the military than other Black youth. Relevant inferences are drawn and suggestions offered for future study.

THE PROBLEM

Research we reported recently from a 1966 study of rural Black and White teenage boys from East Texas brought into question the commonly held belief that disadvantaged youth are more inclined than others to enter military service in order to facilitate upward social mobility (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971). Our findings indicated that the rural respondents, Black and White, generally were very positively oriented toward military service. We also found, contrary to our expectations, that lower-class youth with high-level mobility aspirations (regardless of race) did not have substantially more positive orientations toward military participation than other youth. As far as we know, there exists no reported additional evidence to controvert our findings which challenge the general belief described above, or, on the other hand, none to corroborate them: the accumulated empirical knowledge in this regard is scant and spotty (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971).

Of the several possible explanations we offered for these surprising findings, the one most likely to be correct in our opinion was that there is a strong and pervasive positive evaluation of military service that is part of the Southern, rural culture, and shared by almost all Southern rural youth. We stated, as a result, that, "It is quite possible that different results might be observed among youth in metropolitan areas--who would be more heterogeneous in reference to class and cultural background--" (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971:65). We had an opportunity to at least partially test the proposition that metropolitan youth would be different in this regard--have less positive inclinations toward military service than the rural--as a consequence of administering identical instruments, during the same time period and using the same procedures to a 50 percent sample of sophomore (the same age) homerooms in an all-Black high school located in central Houston.

The general purpose of this paper is to report the findings of our comparative analyses of the orientations toward military service of these nonmetropolitan and metropolitan boys, following essentially the same design for analysis described in our earlier paper providing a racial comparison of rural youth. Our specific research objectives are to answer the following questions within the context of our data:

(1) Do otherwise comparable metropolitan and nonmetropolitan Black youth differ in the nature of their orientations toward military service? Can place of residence differences observed (if any) be explained by SES differences or level of aspiration?

(2) Among metropolitan Blacks, do lower-class youth with high aspirations have a more positive orientation toward military service than other youth? (We already know that the answer for rural Black teenage boys is no!)

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONCEPTS

Although we presented a rather thorough review in the previous report already mentioned, perhaps a bit of repetition would be useful (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971).

Military service can enter into the social mobility of an individual in our society in two ways: as a permanent career or as a commitment of short duration that produces improvement in educational credentials, training, or development of individual capabilities (i.e. leadership, social manipulation, personal discipline) which can be used to facilitate mobility in some other career once military service is terminated. Past research has demonstrated that very few youth of any social type desire a permanent military career (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971); consequently, it would seem reasonable to presume that most disadvantaged youth interested in the military service as a means of mobility would see it facilitating a subsequent occupational line

through its "educational" value. Credence is given to this judgment by the fact that military recruiters appear to be in agreement and emphasize in their advertisements and pitches the educational and training opportunities available through military service.

Previous research involving the respondents of this study has indicated that, while most do have high-status aspirations, substantial minorities hold relatively low-level aspirations for mobility (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968; Kuvlesky and Thomas, 1971). It seems logical to reason, then, that it is not simply the impediments of lower-class status (including being a Negro) that are critical in leading toward a positive evaluation of military service as a means to mobility. Rather, it is the combination of these restrictions and the desire for substantial status mobility. Therefore, we propose that boys characterized by the combination of lower-class status and high aspirations, regardless of race, are more positively oriented toward serving in the military than others. The fact that this proposition apparently doesn't hold for rural youth doesn't preclude the possibility that it might hold for urban youth.

We could locate no past research that could shed light directly on the research questions posed here.* As far as we can tell, no study involving place of residence comparison of Blacks'orientations toward military service has been reported.

RESPONDENTS

Ninety-eight nonmetropolitan and 111 metropolitan Black teenage boys were

*We have reported all even tangentially relevant research reports in our earlier article and briefly summarized their important findings (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971).

interviewed in the spring of 1966. All were enrolled in public high schools, most of which were predominantly Black in enrollment. The nonmetropolitan respondents consisted of all of the high school sophomores present the day of questionnaire administration in the high schools of four East Texas counties. These counties were purposively selected because they were predominantly rural, economically disadvantaged, and had a high proportion of Blacks. The metropolitan subjects came from a 50% sample of the sophomore homerooms in a large, all-Black high school in a low-income ghetto of Houston, Texas.

Analysis of data on background characteristics and family attributes of these respondents indicated that in both the NM and M samples, the vast majority of the respondents were clearly socially and economically disadvantaged and held predominantly high aspirations and expectations for social mobility (Kuvlesky, Wright,and Juarez, 1971:137-151; and Kuvlesky and Thomas, 1971:177-187).

OPERATIONS AND MEASURES

Interviewing

Identical operations and instruments were utilized in interviewing both the M and NM respondents.* In each school all high school sophomores were gathered in one place and given, by trained interviewers, a group-administered questionnaire that required about 45 minutes on the average to complete. The respondents were assured of anonymity before the interview began.

Indicators and Measurements (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971)

Aspiration for military service was determined by simply asking the respondent whether or not he wanted "to go into military service." Expectation of military service was obtained by asking the respondent to indicate which of a set of six alternative actions he expected to take relative to military service--these ranged from "quit high school and enlist" to "get out of going some way or other." This was followed by a question asking the respondent to indicate how sure he was of doing what he expected by checking one of five alternatives ranging from "very sure" to "very uncertain." General "attitude toward military service" was measured through an index of responses indicating agreement or disagreement with five statements of positive or negative evaluation of military service. The respondent was asked to indicate whether he "Agreed" or "Disagreed" with the following statements:

(1) "Every American male should want to serve in the military."

(2) "Every able-bodied American male should enlist if the country is fighting a war."

*The symbol "NM" will be used for "nonmetropolitan" and "M" for "metropolitan" throughout the remainder of the paper.

(3) "One should not complain if he is drafted."

(4) "One can do more for his country by doing something else."

(5) "Anyone who enlists in the service is foolish."

An unweighted scale intended to measure positive attitude toward military service was developed from these responses: each response indicating a favorable attitude was given a value of 1. The potential range in scores was from 0-5, 5 indicating maximum positive orientation, and the actual range in respondents' scores realized this potential.

Measurement of other variables used in the analysis will be discussed with the findings.

Design for Analysis

As we indicated earlier, this comparative analysis will parallel the earlier one providing a racial comparison of rural youth--the M-NM focus will replace the Black-White one (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971).

The analysis is structured into two parts in accordance with the two major purposes given previously. The first section consists of a residence comparison of respondents on each of the military orientation variables: aspiration, type of service expected, certainty of expectation, and attitude toward military service. This paper will also include controls for SES and aspiration level on this comparison to evaluate whether or not these two basic components of the contrived independent variable to be used later influence the nature of residence differences. It will be remembered that one of the reasons we proposed that the M would differ from the NM is that they would be more heterogeneous on such variables.

The second section consisted of an analysis comparing the lower-class high-aspiration groups to others in reference to each of the military

orientation variables considered. This involved two stages of analysis:

(1) comparison of lower-class youth with high and low levels of aspiration;

(2) comparison of lower-class, high aspiration youth with higher SES youth.

Chi-square and t tests were used when appropriate to evaluate the probability of observed differences being explained by chance variation.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

NM-M Differences In Military Orientations

We are predicting here that the NM Black youth will generally be more positively oriented toward military service than the M. Specifically, in terms of the variables being examined, we hypothesized the following differences would exist:

(1) desire for military service--M<NM

(2) anticipation of military service--M<NM

(3) certainty of military expectation--M<NM

(4) positive attitude toward serving in the military--M<NM

Aspirations For Service

The vast majority of both the NM and M Blacks expressed desires to enter the military, Table 1. A difference in the predicted direction was observed but was not statistically significant. It can not be concluded that the NM boys desired military service more than M boys.

Expectations for Service

Although NM-M differences are more conspicious in military expectations, almost all the boys who were physically able, regardless of residence type, expected some sort of military commitment, Table 2. Proportionately more of both residence groups expected to enroll in officers' training in college than the other alternatives listed. However, the NM Blacks were substantially more likely than the M boys to anticipate serving in this capacity. Con-

versely, the M boys more frequently expected to serve in the Reserves or National Guard. Again it must be concluded that, even though the M and NM residents differed to some extent in the type of service involvement anticipated, the M respondents did not expect to avoid military service to a substantially greater degree than their NM counterparts. What is more, approximately the same proportion (1/4) of both groupings expected to enlist right after high school. The general similarity of the two distributions of responses--excluding the one substantial difference in type of reserve service anticipated--is truly astounding.

Certainty of Military Expectations

The M and NM respondents did not differ at all in how certain they felt about their anticipated service: half of each grouping were uncertain, Table 3.

Expectations by Desire for Service

Comparison of the boys' military desires and expectations indicates clearly that a large proportion (about 3/4) of both M and NM youth not desiring to serve in the military felt that they would not be able to avoid it, Table 4. This accounts for about one-fourth of the total respondents in both groups who were physically eligible for military induction. As one might predict, those not desiring military service expected less full-time military commitment than those who desired it. One must be reminded that this data was collected in 1966. It would be reasonable to expect that due to changes in national policy regarding the draft, the Viet Nam war issue, and the nature of military service since that time, youths' orientations in this regard may have undergone important historical change.

Attitude Toward Military Service

A large majority of both the NM and M Blacks also exhibited a positive general attitude toward military service, Table 5. Residence differences which occurred in these attitudes were patterned in opposition to the direction hypothesized. Negative attitudes were more apparent among the NM boys and fewer of these youth had maximum positive scores (5) on the attitude scale, resulting in a slightly lower mean index score for the NM compared to the M youth. The difference in means, however, was too slight to be statistically significant.

Summary and Conclusions

Observed differences between the military orientations of the NM and M Black boys studied are exceeded in substantive significance by meaningful similarities between the two samples. Most important in this respect, the M boys generally appeared positively oriented towards military service as did the NM boys. In most cases, the distribution of responses are so similar it appears we were dealing with a randomly selected two halves of the same universe. It would certainly appear that, in reference to their perceptions of military service, being Black has more significance as an attribute for these youth than whether they live in the hinterland or a large city.

Military Orientations by SES and Aspiration Level

SES Differences

The occupation of the main breadwinner in the youth's family of orientation was used as the indicator of the youth's socioeconomic status. Because both groups of Black boys are concentrated in the lower social strata, ability to make fine discriminations by main breadwinner's job is severely

limited. For analysis, the jobs have been divided into only two groups: blue collar (low) and white collar (high).

Place of residence differences by the two SES classes were still not substantial or consistent. Place of residence just did not make much difference, but SES did.

The most salient SES differences in the military orientations of the M and NM respondents are presented in Table 6. Consistently in both NM and M samples, Blacks whose family's main breadwinner was a blue-collar worker evidenced greater desire to enter the military, greater expectation to enlist and slightly greater certainty of their expectation. However, SES differences in the mean attitude scores of the nonmetropolitan youth are negligible, and among the metropolitan Blacks, those of higher SES appeared to have slightly more positive attitudes toward military participation. The latter difference, however, was not statistically significant.

Occupational Aspiration Differences.

The nature of the boys OA's was determined from a question designed to elicit ultimate occupational aspirations, i.e., "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work?" For this analysis, the responses have been categorized the same as above. Military orientations also varied by type of occupational aspiration; however, the nature and extent of variation was not consistent in the NM and M samples, Table 7. Differences were most conspicuous among the M Blacks. A substantially greater proportion of the M boys who aspired to blue-collar occupations desired military service and expected to enlist. In addition, these youth exhibited more positive attitudes towards the military and were less likely to expect to get out of military service.

NM-M differences among respondents aspiring to white collar jobs were negligible. On the other hand, small to substantial differences existed between NM and M blue collar aspirants, which were in the direction opposite to our predictions and directly opposite to what differences could be observed among the two groups of white collar aspirants.

Lower Class-High Aspirants vs. Others

Granted that our M and NM Black respondents did not differ in general on their orientations toward military service as we hypothesized they would, it is still possible that the interaction of low social status and high aspirations among the M respondents might produce the effect hypothesized. So we doggedly pursued our intended analysis.

We already have reported that among rural youth lower class-high aspirants were not substantially more positively oriented toward military service than other rural boys. The question to be answered now is, what about metropolitan Black youth?

"M" Lower Class: High vs. Low Aspirants

For the purpose of analyzing the relationship between the military orientations and intergenerational occupational mobility aspirations, only high-prestige, white-collar occupations (i.e., professional, managerial, and kindred) have been designated "high" occupational aspirations; all others are considered "low". In addition, only those youth who came from families where the main breadwinner was an "operative," "laborer," or "unemployed" have been designated lower class.

The nature of the differences in military orientations between the lower-class, high and low aspirants were not consistent, and in almost all cases the differences were too slight to be statistically significant, Table 8.

The most salient differences between the two aspiration groups of the lower class occurred in military expectations, Table 9. Proportionately fewer of the lower class-high aspirants than low aspirants expected to enlist in the military and more expected to get out of military service. In regard to the former, six out of ten lower-class M youth with low aspirations expected to enlist, a fact which set them apart not only from all other M youth, but from all types of NM Black youth as well, a finding directly opposite to that predicted.

Again, the comparisons of NM and M data given in Tables 8 and 9 indicate that both lower class subgroups differed little by residence.

In general, differences in military orientations were greater between the low-class high aspirants and Blacks of higher socioeconomic status, and in both the NM and M samples, the direction of the differences were generally aligned with our hypotheses, Table 10.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Generally, the M-NM differences in military orientations observed among the Blacks studied here were not substantial nor statistically significant. The most salient differences appeared in military expectations. The NM Blacks, more often than their M counterparts, expected officers' training in college, while the M Blacks were more likely than the NM to anticipate joining the Reserves or National Guard. A majority of the Black teenagers desired to serve in the military and almost all (including 3/4 of the youth who did not desire military service) expected some type of commitment. Half of both residence groups appeared certain of their expectations, and most exhibited a positive general attitude towards the military.

Military orientations appeared to vary more by socioeconomic status and occupational aspiration than by residence. Blue-collar occupations were associated with a more positive military orientation, but, in reference to occupational aspirations, this association was more conspicuous among metropolitan than nonmetropolitan Blacks.

Among the M Black boys, low class position combined with high intergenerational mobility aspirations did not appear to produce a higher positive orientation toward military service.

In summary, it must be concluded that our results failed to support either of our two major hypotheses. At least among these respondents, NM youth did not view military service more positively than M ones and M youth with high aspirations from a lower class setting did not have more positive orientations than other M youth.

DISCUSSION: Empirical Overview

Our findings do not support the propositions we posited to guide the analysis: that metropolitan youth are not as positively oriented toward military service as NM youth and that lower-class high aspirants have more favorable orientations toward military service than others. However, within the context of the data we have analyzed on military orientations of youth--keeping in mind the limitations involved (time of study (1966), age of the youth involved (15-16), location of population (East Texas), and lack of other research results)--several general tendencies appear to exist. For at least three populations we have examined in Texas (rural White males, rural Black males, and metropolitan Black males), the following generalizations are in order:

(1) The majority of boys, 15-16 years, both desired and expected military service.

(2) The majority of boys who did not desire military service still expected to serve.

(3) The majority of all boys expected to participate in some kind of military reserve program, but a substantial proportion (1/4) planned to enlist after leaving school.

(4) Only small proportions of teenage boys expected to avoid military service entirely.

(5) About half of all boys were uncertain about their anticipations of military service.

(6) Most youth had a positive valuation for participating in military service.

(7) Both socioeconomic status and level of occupational aspiration were inversely correlated to a small degree with desire to enter the military and expectation to enlist.

(8) Type of place of residence (i.e., metropolitan vs. nonmetropolitan) has little utility in explaining variations observed in youths' orientations toward military service.

These generalizations are offered more as guides and as a stimulant for future research than as a set of firm conclusions. Obviously, there is a need to validate these findings through additional research on the same types of populations and to investigate the extent to which they can be extended to other populations. One of the first needs in this respect is to examine metropolitan white youth.

One observed difference indicates that we should look elsewhere (other than mobility aspirations) for motivations, social forces or structural sources impacting on youths orientations toward military service: among all the SES--aspiration groupings studied so far, the M, Black, low-aspiring, lower-class youth differed dramatically from all others in <u>expecting to enlist</u> right after high school. Why is this grouping so different from the others? Could it be that military service is perceived by some as a way of escaping the American achievement syndrome, particularly for those poorly equiped to compete? The answer to these questions could provide insight into a new theoretical base for exploring mobility--individual values and the functions of military service.

While we demonstrated in an earlier paper that rural Blacks and Whites were generally very similar in their orientations toward serving in the military, they did differ significantly in the type of service they anticipated. Surprisingly, White boys more often anticipated finding a way of getting out of military service as well as more often expected to enlist after they finished school. This indicates that there is more substantial variation in alternatives selected among the Whites than the Blacks. Why? Part of the explanation might be in the relatively higher educational aspirations of Blacks as compared with Whites--a large majority of all Black youth stu.ed so far, irregardless of SES status or level of aspiration, expected to participate in a college officer's training

program. This inference leads one back again to our original proposition, that these orientations towards military service are related to status achievement goals. Maybe so, but perhaps not in the way we anticipated and not for the reasons we suspected.

As we suggested in our earlier paper on rural youth, it is possible that the age of the respondents--high school sophomores--influenced the nature of the observations reported here. It may be that these boys were not close enough in time to the period of decision-making regarding military service to have taken our stimulus questions seriously. If this is the case, investigations of older boys might reflect support for the hypothesis. This seems a particularly fruitful question for future research, because previous research has indicated that desire for military service generally decreases with age (Kuvlesky and Dameron, 1971). We have T^2 data (1968) on our rural respondents and intend to explore the age sequency dynamics in military projections in a future paper. This longitudinal panel data gives us an opportunity to explore a modification of our original hypothesis in another way: do military orientaions become increasingly positive as aspirations become higher over time? Or, conversely, do youth become increasingly negative about participating in military service as aspirations decline over time?

In addition, there is the question of the effects of broader historical events on the military orientations of these youth that needs research. It will be remembered that the data used here was gathered in 1966, prior to the widespread public clamor about the draft and participation in the Viet Nam war. These historical occurrences may have produced changes in orientations toward military service held by youth. We are now processing data collected this spring from a survey of the sophomore age cohort in the same nonmetropolitan

and metropolitan areas for analysis of historical change in youth mobility orientations. This will provide us with an opportunity to examine the effect of these macro events on youths military projections and attitudes.

It is quite obvious that much future research is required on this subject to extend the limited generalizations we have begun to evolve here and to construct a viable theoretical framework for the way military service relates to the broader concerns of social mobility motivation and actual mobility patterns. While there are a number of ways we can extend knowledge in this problem area--and we intend to do so--we are very much interested in collaborating with other researchers in the pursuit of this end. In fact, formal cooperative arrangements have been initiated with researchers at New Mexico State University (a study of Navajo youth) and the University of Houston (a study of Metropolitan youth) that should provide in the very near future an opportunity to test the generalizability of the major findings we have reported above.

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Table 1. The Desires of Nonmetropolitan (NM) and Metropolitan (M) Black Boys to Enter Military Service.

Desire to Enter Military	Nonmetropolitan (NM) (N=98)	Metropolitan (M) (N=110)
	Percent	
Yes	63	55
No	37	45
Total	100	100
No information	0	1

$x^2 = 1.31$ df = 1 .20<p<.30

Table 2. The Military Expectations of NM and M Black Boys.

Military Expectation	NM (N=89)	M (N=98)
	Percent	
Enlist Before or Right After High School	23	26
College + Officer's Training	60	41
Reserves or National Guard	9	21
Get out of Going	8	12
Total	100	100
Physically Disabled	6	9
No Information	3	4

$x^2 = 8.90$ df = 3 .02 <P< .05

Table 3. Certainty Associated with Military Expectations of NM and M Black Boys

	NM (N=89)	M (N= 94)
	Percent	
Certain	48	53
Uncertain	52	47
TOTAL	100	100
Physically Disabled	6	9
No information	3	8

$x^2 = .43$ df = 1 $.50<P<.70$

Table 4. The Relationship of Military Expectation to Desire for Military Service Among NM and M Black Boys.

Military Expectation	NM[a] Desire		M[b] Desire	
	Yes (N=61)	No (N=28)	Yes (N=59)	No (N=38)
	Percent			
Enlist	30	11	33	13
Officers' Training at College	62	53	44	34
Reserves or National Guard	8	11	21	24
Get Out of Going	0	25	2	29
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$^a x^2 = 18.50$ df = 3 P<.001

$^b x^2 = 18.41$ df = 3 P<.001

Table 5. Attitude of NM and M Black Boys Towards Military Service.

Attitude Index		NM (N=91)		M (N=107)	
		Percent		Percent	
0		1		1	
1	(Negative)	7	22	6	15
2		14		8	
3		24		26	
4	(Positive)	36	78	31	85
5		18		28	
Total		100		100	
Mean		3.4		3.7	
No Information		7		3	
t= 1.402	df = 196	.10<P<.50			

Table 6. Military Orientations of NM and M Black Boys, by Main Breadwinner's Job.

Military Orientation	NM		M	
	Blue Collar	White Collar	Blue Collar	White Collar
Percent Desiring to Enter Military	69(50)	55 (5)	60(52)	42 (8)
Percent Expecting to Enlist	25(17)	13 (1)	29(23)	12 (2)
Percent Certain of Expectation	49(34)	44 (4)	55(46)	41 (7)
Mean Attitude Score[a]	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.9
[a]SES Differences:				
Nonmetropolitan	t=0.196	df=72	P>.50	
Metropolitan	t=0.822	df=102	.10<P<.50	
Residence Differences:				
Blue Collar	t=0.612	df=151	P>.50	
White Collar	t=0.832	df=23	.10<P<.50	

Table 7. Military Orientations of NM and M Black Boys, by Type of Occupational Aspiration.

Military Orientation	NM		M	
	Blue Collar	White Collar	Blue Collar	White Collar
Percent Desiring to Enter Military	60 (21)	65 (39)	71 (12)	54 (49)
Percent Expecting to Enlist	37 (11)	16 (9)	57 (8)	21 (17)
Percent Expecting to Get Out of Going	6 (2)	9 (5)	0 (0)	14 (12)
Percent Certain of Expectation	45 (15)	51 (30)	47 (8)	52 (44)
Mean Attitude Score[a]	3.2	3.5	3.8	3.6

[a]SES Differences:			
Nonmetropolitan	t = 1.134	df = 85	.10<P<.50
Metropolitan	t = 0.428	df = 104	P>.50
Residence Differences:			
Blue Collar	t = 1.607	df = 46	.10<P<.50
White Collar	t = 0.698	df = 143	.10<P<.50

Table 8. Military Orientations of Lower Class Boys by Occupational Aspiration Level and Residence Type.

Occupational Aspiration Level	Lower Class Youth: Number of Respondents NM	M	Desiring Service NM	M	Attitude Toward Military Service NM	M	Certain of Expectation NM	M
			----Percent-----		----Mean Score----		---Percent----	
High	35	43	71	60	3.6	3.7	56	58
Low	30	18	67	67	3.4	3.8	48	44
Stat. Signif. at .05			No	No	No	No	No	No

Table 9. Comparison of Lower Class-High Aspiration Group With Others on Type of Military Service Expected, by Residence Type.

Military Expectation	NM: Low Class-Low OA	NM: Low Class-High OA	NM: High SES	M: Low Class-Low OA	M: Low Class-High OA	M: High SES
	----------Percent----------					
Enlist	37	21	9	60	28	13
Officer's Training in College	48	67	67	27	42	42
Reserves or National Guard	8	6	14	13	18	30
Get Out of Going	7	6	10	0	12	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 10. Military Orientations of Lower Class-High Aspiration Group Compared with Higher SES Groups, by Residence Type.

Comparison	Number of Respondents		Desiring Service		Attitude Toward Military Service		Certain of Expectation	
	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M
			----Percent-----		---Mean Score---		--Percent---	
Lower Class-High Aspir.	35	43	71	60	3.6	3.7	56	58
Higher SES Groups	23	43	61	51	3.2	3.7	35	50
Statistical Significance at .05			No	No	No	No	No	No